

EMIGRATION

OF

13,
FREE AND EMANCIPATED NEGROES TO AFRICA.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

LOUISIANA STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ON LAFAYETTE SQUARE, MARCH THE 7th, 1850, AND
REPEATED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SAME SOCIETY IN LYCEUM HALL,
SUNDAY EVENING, THE 19th DEC., 1852, BY

REV. W. A. SCOTT, D. D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE LOUISIANA STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY

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AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LOUISIANA STATE COLONIZATION
SOCIETY, IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH ON LAFAYETTE SQUARE,
MARCH THE 17th, 1852, AND REPEATED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE SAME SOCIETY IN LYCEUM HALL, SUNDAY
EVENING. 19th DECEMBER, 1852,
BY REV. W. A. SCOTT, D. D.

It has become my duty, friends and fellow citizens, to address you this evening in behalf of the Emigration and Colonization of free people of color, on the shores of Africa. A cause second to none in this age of great and wonderful events. Among other embarrassments under which I labor, one is, the difficulty of selecting from the many interesting aspects in which this cause may be viewed, those points that may be most appropriate and useful. Nothing new or original will be attempted. I do not deem it expedient or necessary, to go into any detail as to the origin of slavery, nor into any historical statement, concerning the origin and objects of the American Colonization Society. These are subjects with which you are already familiar by means of public addresses, and of that still more mighty agent for diffusing intelligence—the public press. It is my purpose, therefore, to present a few thoughts on some of the *blessings of colonizing free born and emancipated people of color from among ourselves, on the shores of Africa.* And first as to *ourselves*, and the free people of color amongst us.

In the East, and to some considerable degree every where, except where the Anglo-Saxon race prevails, there is little or no prejudice founded on the distinction of color. The avenues of preferment are open to all; and he, who is most skilful, industrious, persevering and accomplished in his business or profession, whatever his complexion may be, whether ruddy, pale, fair, brown or black, is most certain of success.

But it is not so with us. It is no matter whether the prejudice that prevents the amalgamation of the Anglo-Saxon and African races, has arisen from the mere force of circumstances, or was implanted for wise and holy purposes by the Creator, at or before the dispersion at Babel, which is most probably. It is enough that it exists: and exists with such a resistless and pervading force, that an assimilation of the races, if it were even desirable, is absolutely impossible.

The free black man with us, is neither a free man nor a slave. He is cut off from the protecting care which the interests, if not the humanity of the owner, extends to the slave; and yet, he is subject to

all the prejudices of color, and denied many of the privileges accorded to the most ignorant and depraved white person. To a great extent, the free people of color in the United States are a sort of intermediate class, having no bonds of common interest, no ties of sympathy; and are generally indolent, improvident and ignorant, and the consequence is, that collectively, they are the most depraved and unhappy race on the American Continent.

The only hope of the free black man is his removal to another Continent, beyond the barriers of those prejudices and circumstances that oppress him here, and to a soil and climate for which he is suited. It is impossible for him ever to be happy among the whites. The frequent conflicts between the free blacks and the whites, in our principal northern cities, and the exclusion of them, or attempts to exclude them from entering many of our free States, show that to them, on our soil, freedom carries no healing on its wings; and liberty, that blesses all besides, has no blessings for them, and that the glorious flag that has animated the hearts of freeman on so many fields of battle, and carried our commerce over the whole world, has nothing but stripes and imprisonment for them.

Another part of their misery, is their subjection to a feeling of inferiority. No man can flourish and grow in a state of conscious inferiority, any more than a vegetable grows in the dark. But the black man cannot come out into the sunshine of heaven's equality, among white people.

The free people of color are not at home amongst us. The All-wise Creator has placed upon the black man, the mark of separation. Man being gregarious and social in his habits, it was necessary for the subduing of the earth to the arts of peace, that men should be dissociated, segregated and driven out from their cradles. It is a blessing, therefore, that there are causes sufficient, to prevent the perfect assimilation of all the races into one. It is not one of the least indications of divine goodness, that there is such a variety amongst the races of men, as to render their separation not only desirable but necessary, and at the same time, also, to fit them for different climates and pursuits, so that the *whole earth* may be the home of man, and made contributory to his welfare.

The black man, socially and politically, can never mingle with the white man as his equal, in the same land. It is worse than visionary; it is vain and mischievous to labor to bridge the gulf that the Almighty has made impassable. And I regard it, as a most wise and necessary provision in the Constitution of Liberia, that it forbids a white man to own a single foot of soil in that Republic. No dream of the Arabian Nights is more fruitless, than the attempt to make the white and the black man, stand upon the same platform of political and social equality. They cannot sit down together, as equals, on the same soil. The one or the other, like Pharaoh's lean kine, will devour the fat and well favored. The one must increase, while the other decreases. The only relation that can subsist, happily, and for the good of both,

between the white and black man on this Continent, is that of master and slave. To make them live together as equals, is impossible.

"Like cliffs that have been rent asunder,—
A dreary sea now rolls between;
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder
Shall ever do away, I wean
The marks of that which once hath been."

If the black man is released from involuntary servitude, he is still a slave amongst us. There is not, really, a free black man, from Canada to California. Wherever he goes, he must carry with him the titles of his freedom—and if found without his manumission papers, he is cast into prison. Nay, he must produce the evidence and the seal of the very court in which the evidence of his freedom is recorded. And into many parts of our country, he is forbidden to enter at all. There is no place here for him to rest his foot, or for his children to rise to comfort and honor. There is no bright prospect before him—there is no clear sunshine of the present day, and there is no hope for the future; and gloomy as are his personal prospects, the most withering, crushing, virtue-extinguishing of all that is before him, is the *absence of hope for his children after him*. To my mind, the bitterest portion in the cup of the poor of Europe, is that they have no hope for their children. Parents might be content to be starving operatives, and even to perish without living out half their days, if their children could rise to anything better. But what hope is there that they, themselves or their children, can ever become any better off than they are now? They are doomed to tread round and around in the mill of toil and burden-bearing, ignorance, stupidity, and hopeless suffering, and be the hewers of wood and drawers of water from father to son, and from age to age. And consequently, every stimulant to virtuous action, every motive to industrious habit is taken away. And just so it is, and so it will be with the so called free people of color in the United States. Of course there are exceptions, and I hope there will be many more; but the general mass are and will be such as I am describing. They live as the moving creature upon the face of the earth, as a namesake of my own, of Richmond, Va., said in an eloquent address at Washington, on this subject: "As the moving creature upon the face of the earth, lives for mere animal indulgence, and this must, forever, be the condition of the free black man in this country, as long as the white man is the master and gives laws to this country. The professions are closed to him—the pursuits of a mercantile character are equally shut out from him. He remains to perform the most humble duties, and under circumstances constantly humiliating to every spirit of pride, ambition or elevation." These are the people upon whom we are to act through this noble Society. A people who are not happy here—who never can be happy here, nor as a mass, virtuous and useful citizens amongst us—and whose very presence is an evil—a serious evil to us, but a people whose removal to Africa is a blessing, both to them and to us.

The number of free people of color in the United States, is now computed at half a million, and if we fold our hands their natural in-

crease and the augmentation of their number by emancipation, will soon swell this class of our population, until it can only be told by millions. The red man, the black man and the white man, have been living face to face for upwards of two centuries, in this Continent. It would seem to be the appointment of Providence, that the first should pass away from the earth and also, that the time had now come when the other two, the free black and white man, should follow the example of the Patriarch Abraham and his nephew—that they should separate, and the one go out on the right hand to the home of his fathers, and the other to remain to possess the Continent before him. But is it feasible? Is it practicable to remove the people of color to Africa, that are free and may be emancipated? We answer unhesitatingly, it is. Minute calculations have often been made, showing how it is practicable to remove the whole African race to the land of their fathers, should the nation desire to do so. The estimate, so far as time and expense are concerned, is easily made. We have an instance in modern times, showing how great may be the emigration of persons with slight help from the Government. The present year (1852,) it is estimated that over 200,000 emigrants have left Great Britain. Within five years a million and a half of persons have emigrated from Ireland alone, and chiefly to this country. And all this has been done without materially deranging the commerce of any nation. It has been done in the order of commercial marine. What then, might be done by judicious assistance from our Government, towards sending the free blacks to join their brethren in the country of their ancestors? The same activity that brings the Irish to America in ten years, would transport the whole of our negro population to Africa. The late Mr. Webster was, I think, the first to suggest that the Government might appropriate money to aid this work. He said that it was within our constitution to do so—it was within the powers and provisions of the constitution, as a part of our commercial arrangements.

The time has come when the *two hundred millions of dollars* expended by this great Government for the naval service, will have to be quadrupled, and when these vast expenditures in making preparations for war, should be made useful in maintaining the arts of peace, and in extending and promoting commerce, and friendly christian intercourse among nations. Nothing remains but for the Government to give its favor and encouragement, to the effort of transporting the free negroes to the shores of Africa, and the work will be done. And I think the time has fully come for the people of the United States to speak out on this matter. The Treasury is overflowing, peace and prosperity crown us with blessings, such as only God's most favored creatures in this world of sin can enjoy.

While we have steamships connecting the Continent of Europe with America, and are sending out expeditions to Behering's straits, the Chinese seas and Japan, and are exploring the Amazon, the La Plata, and the great rivers and empires of the earth are opening up to trade, surely we should not forget Africa. The same ocean that sweeps the

shores of Europe, sweeps also the shores of Africa and America, and the same interests and results are to be effected by commerce with Africa, that are to be found in commerce with Asia.

The emigration of the free born and emancipated blacks to Africa, is a work of common interest to the whole Union, and to every State in the Union. The free States do not wish to have them, and it is not proper for them to dwell in any considerable numbers in the slave States. It is a work, then, of paramount importance to us, to send them to Africa as fast as they are prepared to go, and Liberia is prepared to receive them. In this enterprise we bury all party feeling in politics—all little jealousy and sectarian dogmas.

Men of the highest sanctity of character and splendor of talent, who have been and now are burning and shining lights on the bench, at the Bar, in the Senate and in the Pulpit, have been and are the friends of this cause. And why should not the sympathy and contributions of the friends of the black man, at the North and in Europe, flow in this channel? Why should Glasgow, and Liverpool, and Boston, be raised to magnificence and wealth in part, in the first instant by the slave trade, and subsequently by trade in slave labor products, and not give of their imperial wealth to transport the black man to Africa? What vast multitudes of free people could have been taken en to Liberia and made comfortable there, by the money that has been given for the last twenty years to Abolition Societies, presses, lecturers and novel writers. There is not a doubt of the practicableness of transporting all the free blacks of this country to Africa, and then the increase of the slave population, if it should be agreed that it was wisest and best to do so; and then, as soon as the existing generation should die off, not a black man would be found on American soil. The plan of gradual emancipation and emigration, is the only one that can be thought of for a moment. Perhaps the germ of what could be done by States, is seen in Mr. Clay's will concerning his slaves.

Secondly.—Let us now consider the emigration of the free born emancipated people of color, from this country to Africa, and see how such a result would affect that vast Continent. Poor, bleeding Africa, for centuries her weeds of mourning have never been laid aside. Her cheeks have never been free from tears.

“The Niobe of nations—there she stands! Childless and tearless in her voiceless wo!” What, then, will the planting of free people of color from America upon her shores, do for her welfare?

First.—It is the only effectual and permanent remedy for the slave trade.

At an early day, the benevolent of this country and of Great Britain contemplated measures for the suppression of the African slave trade. The Government of the United States first prohibited the importation of slaves into this country, and declared the slave trade to be piracy and punishable by death. In 1791 the British Parliament investigated the subject and collected evidence for ulterior action, and at length passed an act prohibiting the importation of slaves into any

of their West India possessions, after the 1st of March, 1808. Spain also, nominally agreed to put a stop to this odious trafic. And it was supposed, or at least hoped, that the decisive blow was struck—that the day-spring of Africa's redemption had visited her. But it was a mistake. Mere legislation and parliament resolutions could not prevail over the savage's thirst for articles of European manufacture, nor over the cupidity of nominal christians. And in the face of the most stringent governmental enactments, the slave trade went on and increased in horrors and in the number of its victims. Then the expedient of armed squadrons on the coast of Africa was resorted to—Great Britain and the United States send thither a portion of their naval force, to guard the ports and harbors of the Western coasts, from all ingress and egress of vessels suspected of being engaged in this inhuman trafic. And now it was thought, surely the British lion and the American eagle will protect the coves and the rivers of Africa, from the approach of the slavers. But again the hopes of the benevolent were disappointed. After immense treasure and life were spent, it was found that the slave trade still went on with but little diminution. Its bloody crest was still erect and daring, in the face of legislative enactments and of the armed squadrons of the two most powerful nations on earth, hunting it down on every sea. And still it goes on. Cuba and Brazil, and probably other marts, are still receptacles of kidnapped Africans. And must it be so forever? Will nations nominally christian, in the face of every effort of moral reason and of physical force, still furnish instruments to trade in the sinews, flesh and souls of their fellow-men? No, it will not be so forever. At last the star of hope begins to appear—it approaches our horizon, and sweeps into our field of vision. On the Western coast, a colony of free colored people from the United States is planted. And there the slave trade is suppressed effectually and permanently. There, with noiseless and unpretending operation, the great work has been done. And should not the analogy of nature, have taught our wise men this method of suppressing the abominable trade in human beings? What is more noiseless and unimposing, than light kissing the very lips of sleeping infancy, so gentle as not to awake it from its slumbers; and yet, no material agent accomplishes results of such magnitude in the physical economy. It is not the thunder and the lightning—it is not the whirlwind, the avalanche or the earthquake and the volcanic eruption, that actuates those great aggregate results, which make the earth the store-house of blessings to myriads of sensitive and intelligent creatures. No: it is the gentle ministry of the sunshine, and of the soft and sweetly coming breeze, and of the silent dews and the unseen, noiseless warmth that fills the earth with the means of existence and of happiness, for her numberless children. So, gentlemen, what naval forces and legislative acts could not do, the Colony of Liberia has done, on all that coast, where its influence prevails, and all that is wanting for the total suppression of the slave trade, is the extension of Liberia along the entire Western coast of Africa.

An armada of all the choicest ships of the line from every nation, cannot, effectually and permanently, suppress the slave trade. For it cannot extirpate the cupidity of men for great profits, nor take from the savage African, his love for the goods of civilized nations. *Physical force* may restrain partially, the corrupt and greedy destroyers of human happiness. But it is not the right kind of instrumentality with which to battle successfully, against those evils that excite the depraved passions of intelligent, immortal minds. Every principle of sound philosophy assures us, that till the exciting causes of the slave trade are removed, the effects which they naturally produce cannot cease. The only effectual and permanent remedy for this evil, therefore, must be one that reaches its origin—that will grapple with and destroy the causes of its birth. Anything short of this, will be a failure. And nothing but the *civilization and christianization of Africa herself*, affords such a remedy. And how can this ever be done, but by the colonizing of free christianized people from the United States, on the African shore? It is palpable that the civilization of Africa must proceed from a cause without herself. History furnishes no instance, of a barbarous people left to themselves and without intercourse with others, ever becoming civilized. Commerce has done much in civilizing men, but it was by introducing the seed from a foreign land. The grand law of civilization is, to operate upon the social and political condition of a people, through the medium of *Model Communities* (*) planted amongst them. There is no other hope for the barbarous tribes of Africa—within herself she has no germ of civilization—it must be introduced from abroad. It is also palpable, that the instruments of introducing this civilization, must be the black man himself. None other is fitted *mentally, socially or physically* for this work. And no people of color on this globe, are such fit agents for this work, as the free people of color in the United States. No other agents can raise the native mind of Africa, without which, nothing permanent can be done for that Continent. The minds of the natives must be elevated, before the capabilities of her soil will ever be called forth. Nothing but the extinction of the savage *pagan* spirit of Africa herself, can extinguish the slave trade. This extinction cannot be done by anything but by the christianized civilization of Africa, and the best known agents; and indeed the only agents that have been or can be found for accomplishing this work, are the free people of color amongst us. To save that Continent from the continuation of the slave trade, two things must be done. *First*, the native mind must be enlightened and freed from the chains of savageism and superstition; and *secondly*, the physical resources of that country must be developed, till the wares and productions of Europe and America, can be purchased by the produce of their soil, and not by their sons and daughters. Can these two things be done? We answer unhesitatingly they can—they are now being done. The native mind of Africa is essentially, the same with the native mind of any other pagan country. The powerful ap-

pliances of civilization, science and religion, plied long enough, will bring out of the African mind in Africa, substantially what they have brought out of the European or American mind. And as it regards the physical resources of Africa, I am firmly persuaded, from the best authorities within our reach, that they are amply sufficient to sustain twice the number of her present population, in a state of advanced civilization, refinement and luxury. Africa is not inferior in native wealth, to any portion of the globe. She has gold, copper, zinc, silver, timber and dye-wood—she is rich in gums, and nuts, and roots, and all the fruits of the tropics—she is rich in grains, and every species of fowls and animals necessary for food or trade. The London Times says:—

“The natural resources of Liberia are immense, and are steadily in process of development. The principal articles of export are ivory, palm oil, (of which \$150,000 worth was shipped in 1847,) camwood, gold dust, &c. Coffee is indigenous, and of excellent quality, and is now being cultivated extensively. It yields more than in the West Indies, and the belief is entertained that it may be produced so as to compete with slave labor. Sugar also thrives well, but enough only is grown for home consumption, and there is no present hope of competing with Cuba or Brazil. Cocoa has just been introduced, and promises well. Cotton, it is expected, will soon become an article of export. Indigo, ginger, arrowroot, and various other articles of commerce, likewise grow luxuriantly. Rich mines exist in the country, and only requires capital to open them up.

“The population is upon the whole, well disposed to work, and the rate of wages per day is about 1s. sterling. It is an extraordinary feature of this part of the coast, that horses and other draught animals will not live, and hence every kind of transport except that upon the rivers, is performed by manual labor. Much of the camwood which is exported from Liberia, is brought a distance of 200 miles on men’s backs. It is seen, however, that this difficulty, which appears a great one at first, may have the effect not only of inuring the people to labor, but stimulating them to every kind of mechanical contrivance by which it may be overcome. The climate of Liberia, although more healthy than Sierra Leone, is still deadly to European; but the improvement it has undergone during the last ten years from the effect of clearing, drainage, &c., is stated to have been most remarkable. The colored emigrants from America, who used invariably to suffer from fever on their arrival, are now able to go to work at once. The duration of life amongst the colonists, is considered to be about the same as in England.”

The inhabitants are assuming the habits of civilized people, and are succeeding as agriculturists. Schools are established, to which even many natives from the interior send their sons. The London Times says also, that out of 70,000 aborigines contiguous to the American colony, 50,000 can speak the English language, so that one can perfectly understand them. And through the influence of Liberia and the colony of Cape Palmas, the London Times says, two

millions of the natives of the interior, now obtain their supply of European goods. In the year 1849, 82 vessels visited Liberia and exchanged merchandise for articles of African production, to the amount of \$600,000.

Abundant testimony, and especially from the observations of the Rev. Mr. Gurley, who has visited Liberia, I believe twice, could be given if the time allowed, showing the fertility of the soil and the vast resources of that Continent, awaiting the enterprize of the civilized and colored man.

Let me repeat then, there is no practicable or effectual and permanent remedy for the slave trade, but the christianization of Africa. If the whole coast was covered with such a population as that of Liberia, there would be no need of treaties with England, France and the United States, to put down the slave trade. To annihilate the slave trade has been the earnest endeavor of England and the United States, for a number of years. Great Britain is said to have spent more than \$150,000,000 in attempting to colonize negroes in Africa. But she has failed, signally failed; and she has failed in her schemes in the West Indies. And the French have failed. Jamaica and Hayti are melancholy instances of premature and improper attempts to change the condition of African negroes. Great Britain has failed in Sierra Leone, while the American Colonization has succeeded. Great Britain has failed because she worked with the soldier and the bayonet; while the Colonization Society has worked, not by armed vessels and troops of soldiers, but by schools and churches, and by an appeal to reason and acts of justice and deeds of benevolence—by workshops, axes, spelling books, and other “Yankee notions,” and by inspiring the black man himself with *hope* and *self-respect*—by elevating him to the rank of an intelligent, free and independent man. Great Britain had not failed on the African coast, if she had had people of color like those that you send to Liberia from this country—christianized people, and having some knowledge of free institutions.

Secondly.—Another great blessing of the emigration of our free people of color to Africa, is that they carry with them the Gospel. This is the only practicable means that presents itself to the pious for the christianization and civilization of that vast Continent. How else can we hope to emancipate one hundred and fifty millions of people on that Continent, from ignorance, superstition and paganism? What enterprise is more grand and noble, and worthy of our thoughts, prayers and contributions, than the attempt to bring Africa under the influence of the Gospel? A wise and good man once said, if he were sure that he would die to-morrow, he would plant a tree to-day, whose shade or fruit might bless the coming generation. This man had a soul truly great, and in the likeness of its Creator. He looked forward to the future.

And if we look to the future of this grand movement—and seeing how the feeble beginning has grown into an independent Republic, with 700 miles of sea coast, and territory sufficient to accomodate all the black population of these United States, and country capable of

raising all the leading and great products of the tropical climates, cotton, corn, rice, sugar and coffee; who among us can look to the future of this grand movement? Who can read the microscope or prophecy, from the configuration of the planets which presided over the birth of the free, independent and christianized Republic of Liberia; what shall be its history, as it sweeps onward through the track of time, enlightening and redeeming that vast Continent? The returning of the negroes of this Continent to their fatherland, has made Africa the "land of promise" to the black man, as this country has become to the European Continent.

And when England asks in time to come, as she has often done heretofore, and not without a sneer, *what has America done for the negro?* We may gladly say, look to Liberia and see what America has done for the negro, for Africa and for Christ. See there the only country on the globe in which the negro is a man, in full possession of all the rights of a man. See there a Colony of intelligent, moral, industrious people, grown already into a nation, carrying the English language, and science, and commerce, and arts, and the glad tidings of the Gospel and of republican liberties, into the darkest regions of heathenism and slavery. And if fifty years hence England dares to ask again, what has America done for the negro, then all Africa will respond, saying: "The Continent which England once robbed and ravaged, and from which she tore our bleeding sires, now smiles and rejoices in the light shed upon it by the sons of those exiles, returned to us laden with Heaven's best blessings, through the christian intelligence and philanthropy of America."

And shall we not, gentlemen, see hereafter the commerce of this growing and great people, exercising a beneficial influence upon our own taking away from us our spare manufactures and our spare productions—while we receive from them in return what they can furnish us? If we could forget the greater points of this great subject, and for a moment make it a question of dollars and cents, it were easy to show that our interests may be greatly promoted by planting the free black on the shores of Africa, and increasing his wants for our supplies, and his capacity to pay us in return, by raising what Africa alone can furnish for our market.

Lord Brougham said long ago, that every tree felled in the forest of the Mississippi, sets a loom going in England. It is an acknowledged fact, that it is of great importance, commercially, to Great Britain to help off to her colonies a large number of her population, for thereby she gets rid of the expense of maintaining them as paupers, or of convicting them of crime, and thereby also, they become able to pay her for manufactured goods which they could not do at home. It is of vast importance for us to secure a controlling share of the commerce of Liberia. As a scheme of philanthropy as well as of commerce, and a preparation to prevent war, it seems to me exceedingly desirable that the Ebony line of steamers, contemplated in a bill before Congress some two years ago, introduced by Mr. Stanton, of Tenn., should be established.

England has acknowledged the independence of Liberia, and why? Because it was to her advantage. Trade, bargain making, commerce, money and comfort, and comfort by money, are the great attributes of an anglo-Saxon. Every spot on the face of the earth that can afford to pay for his calicoes and his wares, he will visit, and he will settle. It is trade—it is the prospect of gain by selling the manufactures of Great Britain, that made Queen Victoria shake hands across the wide ocean, with the naked young vagabond who is called the King of Musquitia. And why has Great Britain done, what we have not done? Doubtless there were other motives. We do not exclude benevolence from the people of the British empire—there are many most benevolent, liberal and pious people there, who are praying, laboring and giving freely for the good of their fellowmen. But doubtless, one of the motives of the British Government for acknowledging the independence of Liberia, and in showing her so much favor, was to get a favorable market for her manufactures, and to have a chance of penetrating Africa through her rivers. England is not to be blamed for this; I only refer to this act of hers, as a proof of the profound sagacity and able statesmanship of her premier. And in this she is worthy of our imitation. It is due to us as a commercial people, and as the founders and supporters of this Colony, until it has now taken its place amongst the States of the earth as an independent nation, to acknowledge its independence and stand fast by its growth and prosperity, and seize on its commerce by all fair and honorable means.

Finally.—It may be asked, is there any sufficient ground on which to hope, that the African race is capable of receiving, appreciating and perpetuating among themselves, the blessings of free institutions and of christianity?

The history of the black man, it is true, has every where, been that of slavery, of degradation and of ignorance, even in Africa itself. There for ages, and still he holds his life and all that is dear to him, at the will of a savage, despotic master, except where the influence of colonization protects him, and in the volume which Providence has opened to us after the lapse of thousand of years, we read that such was his condition centuries ago. The monuments of Egypt and of Africa tell us that the black man was a slave—emphatically a slave under the mighty dynasties that held the destinies of the world in their hands, from the earliest days of the mighties empires of past ages. Perhaps no instance can be found, on these monuments, in which the black man does not appear, bearing about with him the certain marks of bondage or of subjection. If the African has always been in ignorance, degradation and superstition, is there any hope for him? Is he not like the giant of old, spoken of in classic fable, upon whom Etna was placed—whose breast is so bruised—his limbs so paralyzed by the long pressure of the superincumbent weight, that he cannot erect himself as a man, and take any place in the way of advancement and civilization? No: it is not thus with the African. There is a light brighter than that of reason—there is the light of the Gos-

pel, whose rays penetrate far into the future. And under its genial influence, see what has already been done in Africa. Behold the Liberian Republic. Perhaps there is not, upon the face of the earth, a Government whose constitution is more liberal, more enlightened, or more judicious; having in it the elements of greater permanence, than the Republic of Liberia. It is the black man's Republic. It is not the white man ruling over him, as in Sierra Leone, nor is it the black man forced on by the white man as in British West Indies. It is the black man governing himself—governing himself according to written statutes—governing himself with enlightened views of his own nature, duties and destiny.

We cannot but admire the wisdom and goodness of God, that ordered the black man to be educated here, for his career in the home of his ancestors; educated here where constitutional rights are thoroughly understood, where the rights of self government are so clearly illustrated, and the success of our blessed institutions have shown that freedom is the best heritage of man. How wonderful are the counsels of the Most High! For nearly two centuries, amidst the darkness and oppression of her exiled sons, God has been silently and unseen, just as he forms the diamond in nature, elaborating the rich germ of civilization, that now begins to sparkle as a brilliant on Africa's bleeding bosom.

The enterprise is no longer doubtful. An independent Republic, and acknowledged as such by some of the greatest powers on earth, has grown up on the coast of Africa under the fostering care of the American Colonization Society. Public opinion is fast settling down, not only upon the practicability of the redemption of Africa from heathenism, and the total suppression of the slave trade, by the transportation of the free people of color from the United States to Africa, but upon the necessity and importance of doing so. The success of past years should stimulate the friends of the cause to renewed efforts in time to come. The planting of colonies of free people of color, who have received more or less education—more or less sentiments and habits, fitting them to build up free institutions and to sustain the Gospel, is the only hope of Africa. They suffer comparatively little from the climate, while the whites fall victims. It is to the free blacks of Liberia, then, that the world looks for the teachers, explorers, traders, geographers, missionaries and preachers of the Gospel, by whom Africa is to be reclaimed from the physical and moral waste and deserts, in which it has lain for ages. The tree has been planted which shall wave its branches, laden with celestial fruits, over that Continent, for ages to come. In the language of the sublime Psalmist, the handful of corn is in the earth upon the top of the mountains, and the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon. And the mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills shall flourish in righteousness.

The aspects and operations of this Society, are of universal interest to the philanthropist. It promises to discharge a moral duty of the most imperative character, and to achieve a work of great, compre-

hensive, and ever-during benevolence. It spans the Atlantic and encircles in its wide embrace a Continent of heathens, and three millions of slaves, and half a million of free people of color. It is an enterprise in harmony with the stupendous movements of our age. It opens up to the colored population of this country, a career of extensive usefulness, a destiny of honor and exaltation, almost without a parallel in history. They are called upon to go forth and to subdue a mighty Continent, and bestow upon it the arts of peace and the institutions of christianity. How different is their return from their forefathers' departure? The descendants of those who were torn away as slaves, return as the heralds and missionaries of freedom and of christianity to their father-land.

Let us seriously inquire, then, what is our duty as patriotic men—what is our duty as men who are, and who profess to be humane and intelligent? What is our duty as christian men, to Africa and half a million of so called, free people of color, who are amongst us occupying, and must here continue to occupy a degraded, social, intellectual and moral position? The motives, fellow-citizens, to exertion in this cause, are stupendous. The objects contemplated are magnificently grand. The moral bearings of the enterprise, are sublime beyond a parallel. Our efforts and contributions should then be great in proportion to the magnitude and sublimity of the cause.

I read some months since, of a terrible gale in one of the harbors of the Chinese seas. In this harbor were lying at anchor the vessels of all nations, and among them the United States sloop of war Plymouth—a noble name, and of good omen. Every vessel broke its cable, but one. The tornado tossed them about, and dashed them against each other, and broke them like egg shells. But amid this terrific scene of destruction, our Government vessel held fast to its moorings and escaped unharmed. *Now, who made the links of that cable, that the tempest could not rend*—whose work was it, that saved property and human life from ruin, otherwise inevitable? O! could that workman have beheld the spectacle, and heard the raging of the elements, and seen the other vessels as they were dashed to pieces, and scattered abroad, while the violence of the tempest wreaked itself upon his own work in vain, would he not have had the most ample and purest reward for the fidelity of his labor? And so, when the dark days of Europe come, and they are near at hand; when kingdoms and empires shall be crushed beneath the convulsions and the righteous retributions of Heaven, upon centuries of wrong and oppression, and when amidst the upheaving of the earth, the self-governed Republic of Liberia, a Republic of free black people shall stand out in bold relief, and out-live all the present dynasties of Europe, will it not be asked then, who founded that Republic, whose work is it? And then, if the holy, wise and benevolent founders of the Colony of Liberia, who toiled on amidst so much opposition and with great sacrifice, and some of whom laid down their lives in its behalf; if they could then look out from their celestial mansions, upon this home of freemen, and see its beneficent example, blessing, not only

Africa, but all of Europe, would they not feel abundant satisfaction, and more than a thousand fold compensated for all their labors. "If there be a thread that determines the place of every bead in the necklace of individual and national destiny, then, when Africa at last exchanges her dark zone for a girdle of jewels, glittering with the light of science and religion, then it will be found that colonization has spun the silken thread which binds them all in beauteous order." I doubt not that there lie, wrapped up in the folds of an eventful future in the Republic of Liberia, the influences that will most powerfully affect the welfare of the whole African race.

I do not doubt but that the whole Continent of Africa will be regenerated, and I believe the Republic of Liberia will be the great instrument in the hands of God, in working out this regeneration. The Colony of Liberia has succeeded, better than the Colony of Plymouth did for the same period of time. And yet, in that little company which was wafted across the mighty ocean in the *May flower*, we see the germs of this already colossal nation, whose feet are in the tropics, while her head reposes upon the snows of Canada. Her right hand she stretches over the Atlantic, feeding the millions of the old world and beckoning them to her shores, as a refuge from famine and oppression, and at the same time she stretches forth her left hand to the Islands of the Pacific and to the old empires of the East, full of the blessings of the arts and sciences, of trade, civilization and pure religion. And does not faith tell us that the Lone star, that our example and benevolence has made to appear in the very central regions of African barbarism, shall become a mighty constellation, whose glorious light shall beam along the dark valleys of the Niger and the Senegal, and make the mountains of the moon reflect the glory of the Sun of righteousness, and that Africa redeemed, and having placed the topmost jewel in the crown of her great deliverer, shall sit with Europe, Asia and America, clothed and in their right minds, at the feet of Jesus of Nazareth?